TABLE 1. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU SOCIAL CULTURE*

Aspects		Klamath	Nez Percé	Umatilla	Tenino	Wishram	Klikitat	Kittitas	Wenatchi	S. Okanogan	Sanpoil	Coeur d'Alène	Kalispel	Flathead	Kutenai	Thompson	Shuswap	Lillooet	Chilcotin	Carrier
Political	Strict local autonomy																			
	Small bands of villages																			
	Chieftainship loosely hereditary																			
	Female chiefs (other than substitutes)																			
	Chief's spokesman																			
Fishing rights local; hunting land unrestricted																				
Communal fishing weirs																				
Social equality for freemen																				
All men free (no slavery)																				
Slaves rare																				
Warfare	Strict pacifism																			
	Warfare rare																			
	Warfare raid-like																			
	Dance for supernatural aid precedes																			
	Plateau type victory dance																			
Puberty	Ceremony for boys																			
	Isolation, intensive training for girls																			
	Elaborated menstrual tabus																			
	Isolation at subsequent menstrual periods																			
Burial	Inhumation in soil																			
	Inhumation in talus, gravel																			
	Body flexed																			
	Body extended																			
	Grave exorcised																			

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painted and carved. Each box belonged to a family or group of families, and many bodies were placed in the same box. When the boxes were full, a new one was made and placed near by. Some of these boxes had pitched roofs. Poles and grave figures were put up around the boxes. Articles of clothing and other offerings were often attached to these. . . . A few old burial places consisted of a staging erected on poles or posts. The bodies were wrapped in mats of cedar-bark in a sitting position, and deposited in boxes or on the stagings.[129]

There can be no question as to the origin of the disposal practices of the Wishram and Lower Thompson. Both were received from the Coast, one via the Columbia River, the other via the Fraser River. Likewise, the basket burial of the Lillooet is clearly coastal in origin. The large coiled basket merely has been substituted for the box.

[129] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 335.

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• The table presents traits of social culture typical to the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it.

The tribes are listed in approximate geographical order from south to north. The vertical lines mark transitions from one linguistic stock to another. The double lines separate tribes of the Canadian or northern Plateau from those of the American or southern Plateau. The geographical area of the northern part is about equal to that of the southern portion; the latter occupies more space on the chart merely because a larger number of groups is represented.

Breaks in the lines on the chart represent ascertained distributional absence, not merely lack of knowledge, except occasionally for the Wishram and Nez Percé.

Certain traits shown on the maps are utilized here also in order that they may be brought into visual relationship. Also, the table supplements the maps, adding the Klamath, whose extreme southerly habitat is beyond the border of the maps.

The charts are intended primarily as visual aids. Most of the items included are discussed in the text.

CONCLUSION

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Certain facts stand out clearly in the light of this survey. The Plateau is seen to possess distinctive character in its own right. Many aspects of culture which are integral to its organization are not to be found in adjacent areas. This indicates both the individuality of the area and the relatively slight influence which the region has exerted upon neighboring areas. This is not to deny the existence or importance of cultural elements of foreign origin. The Plateau has borrowed much from the Coast and it has taken much from the Plains. But the importance of coastal influence has probably been overrated, and diffusion from the Plains is in large part recent and superficial.

In most cases coastal traits have not penetrated deeply into the Plateau. The western fringe of the area has been markedly modified, almost made over in some instances. The Lillooet are an example. But the adjacent Shuswap have retained Plateau culture in almost full measure. The Wishram, adjoining the Coast on the Columbia River, likewise possess a culture with a marked coastal tinge. This might well be expected considering their position and the extent of their intercourse with the Coast as a result of their highly developed commercial activities. It is surprising, indeed, that they exhibit a culture as Plateau-like as proves to be the case. But this coastal aspect does not extend beyond the Wishram. Their eastern neighbors face squarely toward the Plateau; their backs are turned upon even those innovations accepted by the Wishram. The slight degree of class feeling that characterizes the Wishram is wholly lacking among the Klikitat, for example. The latter participate fully in the Plateau ideal of social equality. And yet class distinctions are the major aspect of distinctive Northwest Coast culture typically represented at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The characteristic cultural complexes of Coast and Plateau are surprisingly antagonistic. The matter of class distinctions is the best case in point but not the only one. Warfare provides another example. The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! The tenacity of the pacific ideal is illustrated by the Shuswap. The western branch has adopted the coastal attitude to a degree, presumably after prolonged pressure. But the eastern division, in contrast, has clung wholeheartedly to the Plateau ideal.

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The process leading to Plains impress on the eastern Plateau presents marked contrasts with conditions on the opposite border. On the west the coastal elements were received gradually over a long period. A process of amalgamation kept pace with the innovations. But on the east very nearly the whole pattern of Plains culture swept over the adjacent Plateau in one great wave. The result was not transformation, as on the west, but mere superimposition. Strong emphasis upon this point is necessary because the general assumption has been that Plateau culture was eradicated in the areas affected by the process of cultural diffusion from the Plains. It is easy to understand how this impression came about, for the Plains elements give the effect of opaqueness despite their superficiality. The result is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde affair. When the one is observed the other cannot be detected. The objective guise is wholly Plains in aspect; the subjective guise is equally typical of the Plateau. An observer of the midsummer dances of the Yakima or Nez Percé, even today, might well imagine himself in the Plains; but one observing the home life of these same people could never doubt his Plateau locale. There is no question but that an ethnography wholly typical of the Plateau could be obtained as easily today among the Yakima as among the Shuswap. In the preceding pages the Plains stratum has been frequently emphasized, and sub-areal characterizations drawn on the basis of it. There are several reasons for this. In many cases the available data describe only that level of culture. Furthermore, important historical processes are thereby illustrated.

On the whole, the Plateau has been more receptive to detached elements of culture than to whole complexes. This might well be anticipated, but exceptions are not infrequent. For example, such a continentally widespread practice as the taking of scalps, in the course of warfare, has failed to gain any considerable acceptance. In contrast, the western regions share with the Coast the whole complex of the pre-war dance for supernatural aid. And again, the tribes of the eastern border of the Plateau adopted a war complex virtually in its entirety, not merely a dance or an attitude pattern. Nevertheless the Plateau maintained its identity. The central areas were wholly untouched; the adoption was strictly local though impressive in extent.

Several cultural sub-areas have been encountered in the Plateau. A longitudinal area along the eastern border (Kutenai to Nez Percé) is particularly prominent. Its basis has been discussed above. This sub-

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area is characterized by a distinct temporal aspect. It almost certainly lacked any marked distinction prior to the coming of the horse. A western sub-area extends the entire length of the Plateau (Carrier to Klamath). This is an outgrowth of a similar process, that is, marginal interchange with an adjacent area. In this case, as in the other, the transfer has been largely unidirectional, inward to the Plateau. But in contrast to the preceding sub-area, this is not temporally qualified. Although extending the entire length of the Plateau, this sub-area is very weak in its middle region. From the Southern Okanogan to the Klikitat the affiliation is dominantly with the central area to the east, but the effect of marginal position is discernible. As might be expected, the strongest identity is at those points where intercourse with the Coast is easily maintained. This is along the great watercourses, the Columbia and the Fraser. The Wishram, Lillooet, and Thompson are the groups most influenced.

The characterization of coastal influence as steady and prolonged applies only south of the Chilcotin. Apparently the coastal innovations in the Chilcotin and Carrier regions are of very recent date and of an overwhelming order reminiscent of Plains inroads in the east. Jenness states that the western Carrier have been so profoundly affected by the Coast that very little remains of their original culture apart from language and emphasis upon hunting. Morice is scarcely less emphatic. The recency of the acceptance may be due to lack of previous contact because of a more eastern habitat. Both Jenness and Morice are of this opinion.[1]

We may now turn to cultural sub-areas of quite different nature. These are lateral in distribution and cannot be interpreted as the result of extra-areal influence, except very slightly and indirectly. Three such areas are clearly defined. The northernmost is composed of the Athabascan peoples: Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani. The second has been termed, in this paper, the Canadian or northern Plateau. The third is the American or southern Plateau. The boundary between the last two is roughly the international line. Specifically, the northern area consists of the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanogan. All tribes to the south belong to the American area. The Lakes are affiliated with the south in most aspects of culture, while the Kutenai vary but most frequently lean to the north. In a number of phases the Kutenai are unique.

This north-south division is the most definite and distinctive of any

[1] Jennesss, *Ancient Education*, pp. 22 f.; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 197 ff.

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in the Plateau. It is encountered more consistently in aspects of religious culture than in other branches, but is unmistakably present in social and material fields as well. The cleavage is pronounced in those elements which are fundamental to Plateau identity, such as social attitudes, religious dances, spirit quest, house types, canoe types, and the like.

The Klamath, far to the south, affiliate naturally with the southern area. The variations that they exhibit are largely reflections of practices of California and the Basin.

Neither the northern nor the southern area may be said to be the more typical of the Plateau. The two present distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; upon others they agree; and each contributes its measure of unique characteristics.

In contrast, the Athabascan area contributes little that is distinctive to the Plateau. It participates in a number of patterns known to the area, but these are of a general nature or appear to be borrowed elements. To this there are a few marked exceptions. A striking example is the unique house type discussed above. A partial appearance of common culture results from the Athabascan and the northern areas participating in similar traits borrowed from the Coast. This appearance vanishes when only typical Plateau culture is considered. A succinct picture of Carrier culture prior to coastal modification is presented by Jenness:

> It is reasonable to suppose that before this change in their culture took place the Carriers were hardly to be distinguished from neighboring Athabaskan tribes; for even today the easternmost Carriers resemble the Sekani tribes to the northward as much as they do their kinsman around Hazelton, Moricetown, and Babine lake who have been most exposed to west coast influence. If we may assume, then, their original resemblance to the Sekani and other neighboring Athabaskan tribes, the Carriers were formerly divided into a number of loosely organized groups each with its special hunting territory, a territory that was not subdivided again among the different families, but remained the possession of the entire group. Fixed dwellings were unknown; the groups simply wandered from one hunting or fishing ground to another, setting up tents of skin or rude shelters of brush and bark. Inheritance and descent were in the paternal line, there were no caste distinctions, no regular chiefs, and no special class of medicine men. Religious ideas were relatively simple. All living creatures were believed to be more or less endowed with supernatural power, which if rightly solicited they often placed at the service of man.[2]

[2] Jenness, *loc. cit.*

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Clearly this culture is one of marked contrasts with that typical of the Plateau. In religion the general statement here would indicate a parallel with the Plateau. But in details pronounced variance is noted.

The Athabascan area, particularly that occupied by the Carrier and Sekani, must, then, be set apart in the Plateau if not from it. The line of demarcation is a linguistic boundary only if the Chilcotin be included in the northern group. But the Chilcotin are of distinctly questionable affiliation and may be found, upon further study, to align rather with the south.

The linguistic differentiation of the Kutenai finds a slight correlation with general culture. but this seems incidental.

Again, in the American Plateau, a linguistic transition occurs, this time involving the Salish and Sahaptin stocks. The boundary crosses the Plateau laterally about two degrees (180 miles) south of the Canadian boundary. Thus the primary cultural division in the Plateau runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary, but nearly two hundred miles north of it! The linguistic boundary itself in no way corresponds to cultural transitions, even of a secondary order. The Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, for example, have far more in common with their Salishan neighbors on the north, the Wenatchi, than they have with their Sahaptin neighbors, the Yakima, on the south.

The crossing of the two longitudinal sub-areas and the two main lateral sub-areas creates a unique situation near the geographical center of the Plateau. Here all influences might blend, resulting in a more or less nondescript culture; or, older and more fundamental traits might persist here since outside influences would be greatly weakened in penetrating this far. The latter alternative appears to fit the case. The Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia may with reasonable safety be viewed as most representative of older levels and fundamental aspects of Plateau culture. A glance at the maps and charts herewith immediately suggests this; the text, I believe, confirms it.